THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN IS PUBLISHED

> EVERY MORNING, (SUNDAYS EXCEPTED.)

Post Office, by LEWIS CLEPHANE & CO.

TERMS.

cribers six and a quarter cents per week, payable to the carriers. To mail subscribers, three dollars and fifty cents rer annum, payable in advance.



Vol. I.

WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1861.

No. 86.

PRICE ONE CENT.

SPEECH OF HON. F. W. KELLOGG,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. FEBRUARY 23, 1861.

The House having under consideration the report from the select committee of thirty-three-

Mr. RELLOGG said-

Mr. KELLOGG said—
Ma. Sprakur: Less than a century ago, thirteen feeble colonies on this newly-discovered continent, inspired by a love of liberty and a desire for self-government, united for the purpose of achieving their independence, and their succes is one of the facts of history. For the purpose of establishing justice, and securing the blessings of liberty to themselves and their descendants, that union was afterwards made more perfect and perpetual under a Constitution framed by a body of men whose wisdom and patriotism made them the admiration of the world. In this brief period the three millions of people have i creased to the admiration of the world. In this brief period the three millions of people have i creased to more than thirty millions, and the United States has become a first-class Power among the nations of the earth. During its existence we have had some of those difficulties which all Governments must encounter, but none of them have ever caused serious alarm. The rebellion in Massachusetts, and a similar one in Pennsyl-vania, although formidable in their character, were, by the wisdom and firmness of the President, promptly suppressed. During the last war with Great Britain, the old Federal party—then with Great Britain, the old Federal party—then in a hopeless minority—held the memorable Hartford Convention, in which they were charged with plotting the destruction of the Government. This charge has been persistently denied, but every man who participated in the proceedings of the Convention was politically runed. They were marked by the people as Cain was by his Maker, that all men might shun them thereafter and forevermors. The restless spirits of the present day might study the history of these men to advantage, and learn how severe a penalty must be paid for being so much as suspected of treason. In 1832 the State of South Carolina threatened

rebellion, but the firmness of President Jackson soon put an end to all their treasonable schemes. The result was, that the confidence of the people in the stability of their Government increased with each succeeding year, until they believed that it was equal to any emergency. But this feeling of security has suddenly given way to an alarm that is almost universal, and not without reason. At this moment several States are in reason. At this moment several clause are in serind rebellion against the National Government, and have seized all the forts, arsenals, and other property belonging to the United States, within their borders, of which they could obtain possession by either fraud or violence. The immediate cause of these highhanded and treasonable acts was the defeat of the Democratic party in the late elections, but the chief conspirators admit that they intended the chief conspirators admit that they interested to destroy the Union—that they have kept this object ateadily in view for many years, and that the triumph of the Republican party has enabled them to unite the South, and accomplish their them to unite the South, and accomplish their purpose at this time. It was through the influ-ence of these men that Charleston was se'ected as the place for holding the last National Demo-sratic Convention, and when that Convention assembled, it was through their agency that it was broken up, its disruption foreshadowing the intended disruption of the American Union. By this means the result of the Presidential elec-tion was placed beyond a doubt, and as their friends and guilty associates were at the head friends and guilty associates were at the head of almost every department of the Government, they were enabled to use its power in making

they were enabled to use its power in making all needful preparations, to give, as they hoped, complete success to their treasonable schemes.

Mr. Speaker, I do not bold the whole Democratic party responsible for this, for I know that an overwhelming majority of them are loyal and patriotic citizens, who love the Union, and would willingly pour out their blood in its defence. Everywhere, at the North and South, during the late political campaign, they pointed out the disunionists in their party, and denounced them, and the sequel proves how well nounced them, and the sequel proves how well they understood their character and designs. Hitherto defeated partisans have gracefully submitted to the will of the people, as expressed through the ballot-box, but at this time a ma-jority of the people in the Southern States seem to imagine themselves justified in resisting it. no are in favor of the Union, profess believe their institutions are in danger, and de-mand certain amendments to the Constitution mand certain amendments to the Constitution, as the price of their allegiance, which will change its character entirely and forever. Though not engaged in the treasonable attempt to aubvert the Government, they assure us to must not interfere with those who are, lest we exasperate them, and bring on the conflict which is sure to come at last, unless we wil

which is sure to come at last, unless we will grant whatever they demand.

There are some noble exceptions of men who are willing to dojustice to the Republican party. I have before me an admirable letter written to some members of the Legis ature of Arkansas by the Hon. Albert Rust, November 12th, 1860 which I make an estract. Mr. Rust says:

"I believe that from the adoption of the Fed eral Constitution to the present moment, the Southern people have never had less cause to com-plain of our Government, and threaten its overthrow than they now have. If the most experienced and enlightened statesmen of other countries could entignience statesmen of other countries could witness the universal prosperity enjoyed by the people of our own, and at the same time the fear—if not the conviction, which is almost as universal—that the Government to which we they would be driven to the conclusion that a genera y had seized upon the minds of the American

The admission that the South never had less The admission that the South never had less cause to complain is the admission of a fact which no one can well dispute, and the prosperity of the people everywhere, to which he alludes in such forcible terms, was indeed wonderful, and without a parallel in any other country. Industry was richly rewarded, and myriads of ha py families dreamed only of a continuance of the sabundance.

Again, Mr. Rusr says: "I recognised the election of Mr. Lincoln b less, perhaps, than one-third of the votes of the United States, aided by the intrigues of Southern Disunionists, as no justification for a thought of revolution. Elected under the forms of the Constitution, those who would resist, or defeat by force his inauguration, would commit the highest crime known

Many eminent Southern men have used simi-May eminent Southern men new tases and lar language, and I do not see how honest men can do otherwise. Sir, what have the Republicans done to justify the hue and cry which has been raised about them all over the country Nothing at all. In the exercise of our constitutional rights we have elected ABBAHAN LINCOL

and HANNIBAL HAMLIN President and Vice President of the United States. This we have done, and this is all we have done. I know it is said that our candidates embody principles which are destructive of Southern institutions. But if it destrictive of Southern institutions. But if it were so—which I deny—what opportunity have we to carry them into practice? The Opposition have a majority of both Houses of Congress for two years to come, and in all that time we cannot pass a law—in fact, we cannot pass the appropriation bills to pay the expenses of the Government, without the aid of our political opponents. Two years hence they are as likely to elect a majority of this House as we are; but if they do not, they will still have a majority in the Senate the whole of Mr. Lincoln's term, and yet we are told that his election is so full of danger to them that numerous amendments danger to them that numerous amendments must be made to the Constitution for their se-curity, and made fortheith, or dissolution is inevitable. Sir, I do not like the bot haste of these men in matters of so much moment. There

is no necessity for it.

But we are told the Southern people are very much excited against the Republican party, and I presume they are, for our candidates and our principles have been alike the subject of the vilest misrepresentations. Southern editors have written what they pleased about us, confident that no one would dare to defend us, and thus subject themselves to the fury of the mob. They have told the people that Mr. Lincoln would use all the power of the National Government to abolish slavery in the States, and wherever it existed; that he was i favor of the social and political equality of the negro; and other stories of a similar character not one of which could of a similar character, not one of which could be contradicted where they were published. A few weeks ayo, a letter, purporting to be written by Mr. Lincoln to some person in Wheeling, and which was well calculated to nflame the public mind at the South, was published throughout Virginia, for the purpose, doubtless, of aiding the election of disunion delegates to their State Convention. The letter was an infamous forgery, but thousands of honest men at the South will never hear of it.

will never hear of it.

Southern gentlemen, too, of high position have assured the people that our Vice President, Mr. Hamis, was a mulatto l and now, when they have succeeded by such means in exciting the psople almost to madness, they call upon us to pacify t em by a base surrender of our principles. The member from Texas [Mr. Rasaas] said, in a late speech, "To give us our rights is to disband the Republican party;" and a distinguished Senator from the same State said, in substance, that if the Republicans would abandon their principles, and make satisfactory amendon their principles. don their principles, and make satisfactory amendments to the Constitution, they might possibly

Mr. Speaker, these ideas are not peculiar to these gentlemen, but are embodied in nearly all the peace propositions, so-called, that have been submitted to Congress, and in the speeches of Southern gentlemen, which we hear almost daily. They bid us throw away our platform, and take theirs, (which was condemned by two-thirds of the voters of the United States in the late elec-

tion,) and incorporate it into the Constitution!
Why not say that Northern freemen shall not vote at all, nor have any voice in determining what the policy of our Government shall be, un-less their opinions are in harmony with Southern

Sir, do these gentlemen from our Northern cities who talk to us about restoring pears and harmony expect that we shall enjoy the right of suffrage hereafter, if we relinquish the lights growing out of it now? We have just elected a President, and the South threaten to dissolve the Union unless we submit to such theres. President, and the South threaten to dissolve the Union unless we submit to such terms as they think proper to impose. If we purchase peace at this time, and succeed in the elections four years bence, will not the defeated party, encouraged by their success now, rise again in rebellion, and demand the substitution of their policy for ours in the administration of the Government? Sir, we cannot do it without destroying all confidence in the power and stability of the Government, and disgracing ourselves at home and abroad. Let all who love the Union rally around the new Administration. the Union rally around the new Administration and thus preserve the National Government from threatened destruction. That is our first duty, and then, if any section of the country have any grievances to complain of, they should be redressed. But let us cling to the Government of our Fathers, the source of our prosperity and power, and the sheet-anchor of our liberties and

rights.

The introduction of the question of slavery into politics is the source of all our troubles. For this, Southern politicians alone are responsiole. By adroit appeals to the passions and prejudices of the people in their own section of the country they have succeeded in effecting a union of the Southern States, by means of which they hoped to retain the continued control of the National Government, and use all its power for the extension and protection of their favorite institution. They conceived the idea of making this a great slaveholding Republic, by the an-nexation of Mexico and Central America, and

they believed that they would be able to control its policy, enjoy its patronage, and wield its hole power forever.

Mr Speaker, I have no desire to discuss the question o slavery, but it seems impossible to avoid it. Every day from the commencement of the session this subject has been thrust upon us to the exclusion of all other business, so far as We have heard the same old stories about fugitive s'aves—the higher law—the John Brown raid, and the lass speeches of Phillips and Garrison, just as we are obliged to listen to some hand organ under our window, that grinds out the same old tunes yesterday, to-day, and forever. Sir, the policy of the Repub-lican party is that of the founders of the Re-pablic, and the framers of the Constitution. They consider slavery an institution of the State which was greated and should be pro-They consider slavery an institution of the State, which was created and should be pro-tected—if protected at all—by State legisla ioo. The National Government have nothing to do with it, except to provide for the return of fugitives, and no more power to extend and protect than they have to abolish it. This was the policy of those who administered the Govern-ment for the first half century of its existence, all denists to the contrary notwithstanding. The sages of '76 looked upon slavery as a moral, social, and political evil, and believed it would gradually disappear under the influence of the great principles enunciated in the Revo-lution. Not in a year or two was this to be secomplished, for it was so interwoven with the whole structure of society, that its sudden re-moval was impossible. In several of the States of the culture of cotton at the South increased the value of slaves and slave labor enormously, and in due time effected a change in the opinions of the people who were b-nelited by it. The judgment and the consciences of men are always affected more or less by their inter sta; brethren, there is no reason to believe that we should have done better under like circum-

stances. If, then, we are unlike them, we must admit that it is the result of early training, and of an education under different influences. I need not quote the opinions of the great states-men who lived in the early days of the Repub-lic, for all are familiar with them; but I must quote a passage or two from later Southern authorities in reference to their opinions. From the report of a committee on negro labor to the Southern Commercial Convention at Vicksburg, Mississippi, in 1859, I take the following pas-sage: "When the Constitution of the United States w s formed, our negro labor system was, States w a formed, our negro labor system was, in theory and practice, slavery, but its ultimate abolition was generally expected. The Constitution itself bears evidence of this, and so do the public debates and private correspondence of that day." Mr. William L. Yancey, of Alabama, whose eloquence has gilded treason itself in the eyes of thousands, in a speech delivered before the Southern 'commercial Convention at Montgomery, in 1858, laments the influence of the opinions of the statesmen of the Revolution on the question of slavery, and said that "the old fogics of that day ("16) entertained opinions in relation to slavery which we of this day are unanimously agreed are not sound." Further on he says: "The distinguishes, venerable, practical, and philosophical geutleman from Virginia (Mr. Ruffin) knows that Mr. Jefferson was wrong in his ideas about slavery."

(Mr. Ruffiu) knows that Mr. Jefferson was wrong in his ideas about slavery."

In the eloquent enlogy which Mr. Pavon delivered during the last session of Congress, on the Hon. With O. Goode, of Virginia, in siluding to the efforts made in that State in 1832 to secure the abolition of slavery, he says: "For the first time citizens of a slaveholding community were driven, by the apparent insecurity of the system, to explore its foundations, and with a result for which very few persons were prepared. In contravention of traditional ideas it was discovered and demonstrated that negro slavery, instead of being an accidental evil which men tolerate merely for want of a practicable remedy, is an institubeing an accidental evil which men tolerate merely for want of a practicable remedy, is an institution which exists in virtue of the most essential human interests and the highest sanctions of the moral law." It is not quite thirty vears, then, since Southern statesmen discovered that slavery was not an evil, but a blessing. Mr. Speaker, they may be right, but we have failed to discover it, and, in the absence of all proof and argument, we think the weight of authority is in our favor.

Mr. Yancey, Mr. Payon and Mr. Ruysus may disagree with those "old fogles," Jefferson, Mad-ison, Mason, and their associates, but we prefer "to follow in the footsteps" of the illustrious founders of the Republic, and our confidence in the wisdom and correctness of their opinions is the wisdom and correctness of their opinions is confirmed by the concurrent sentiment of the whole civilized world. Sir, no lover of his country can look upon the rapid increase of the slave population without alarm. In a few years more they will number twenty millions, and a large army will be necessary to keep them in subjection. We are told that this rapid increase in numbers is a proof that shavery is the best condition for the laborer, but the reverse is the fact. When society is highly cultivated and the comforts of life are most generally diffused, popula-

When society is highly cultivated and the comforts of life are most generally diffused, population increases in a much slower ratio than it does among slaves or among the degraded denizens of filthy hovels and dirty lanes. It was so with the children of Israel in Egypt—it is so here, and will be found so everywhere.

To me it seems the way in which God arms the victims of avarice and despotism against those who oppress them; thus enabling them, in time, to compet a redress of their grievances. Be that as it may, their rapid increase will, ere long, drive the South to the adoption of some plan for the removal of all free negoes, and possibly of a portion of their slaves. Its extension over more territory will not change the result in the least. The South have more cutton lands now than fifty millions of slaves can cultivate, and long before they reach that number the who'e system will be abolished by causes whose operation it will be impossible to resist. Southern writers are in the nabit of comparing Southern writers are in the nabit of comparing the condition of their s'aves with that of the laborers and operatives of N:w England. They seem to imagine that these operatives are almost paupers, and that the cessation of Southern trade would be attend d with frightful co see quences; but t ey know but little of the inde-pendence of the free laborer at the North. Sir, in the six N w England States these operatives and laborers have more than one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars in the numerous savings' banks, and they could probably raise more money in ten days than the new Southern Confederacy in two years, with all the means it can command. But why attempt a comp-rison of these two opposing systems? Any man wh ever did a day's work himself knows that intel over did a day's work himself knows that intelligent labor is the most profitable, always and everywhere to any community; and you can no more convince him to the contrary than you can convince the Christian that there is no God. But that labor, to be intelligent, must be free. Slavery at this time is profitable to tre few, and, under the flag of the Union, the slaveholder finds that pe ce and security which is so necessary to his prosperity. The anti-slavery press may denounce h m; but if, in his own judgment and conscience, he is satisfied of the rightfuland conscience, he is satisfied of the rightful ness of slavery, what should he care about the opinions? Their pap rs cannot circulate aroun him, and he can pursue the even tenor of his way, undisturbed by all, and secure in the know edge that the whole power of the Government is pledged to secure him from invasion and suppress a servile insurrection. If the l aders of he secession movement cearse the pros-perity of slav ry, their conduct would seem akin to madness, since war is the worst possible enemy of the instituti n. Thosa who would secure the abolition of slavery, without regard to consequences, are delighted at the prospect of a dissolution of the Union. They know it will lead to war, and that hope will last till slavery is abolished. The editor of the Knoxville (Tennessee) Waig, in a late number of his paper mays: "The effort to break up this Government ted on by South Carolina, is a wicked, daring, and damnable act, for which its g sitty teaders ought to be ignominiously executed. This whole scheme of disunion is a more consummate abolition contrivance than ever was devised at the North by the most ultra anti-slavery men, and will work the greater mischief to the slave population of the country. It will being about the overthrow of slavery one hundred years sooner than the Republican purty could have done it."
But we are told that cotton is king; that this great staple is especially necessar, to France and England, and that these great Powers would interfere to prevent a war, which might destroy a crop for one or two seasons, to the great in-jury of their manufacturers and trade. This is simply absurd, and before long they will be

convinced of it.

There have been a gre t many monopolies at different periods in history; but the business men of the day, sooner or later, found a way to escape from and destroy their pawer. The cotton monopoly a the largest ever known; and

England and France will not consent to be dependent on them for a supply much longer. At a time when England was far less powerful and wealth; than she now is, she engaged in a war with the first Napoleon mainly to gratify her pride; and for twenty years expended a million of do live a day. Will such a nation, where the prior to the world, consent to hunble themselves to the gaveholders of the Southern States for the years of the Years to the s'aveholders of the Southern States for the sake of obtaining a supply of cotton? Wi Nipoleon, who, in statesmanship, reems second to none that ever lived, consent that the peace and prosperi yof France shall depend on the whim of South Carolina and Alabama? Sir, the answer is obvious; both these Powers hav already done something toward obtaining what they need in other quarters; and now, when they find their trade and commerce liable to be distu bed, or partially destroyed, their exertions will be commensura e with the importance of the occasion. It is but a short time since France commenced the culture of cotton in Algeria; but, in 1859, they produced 715,000 quint ls, of 221 pounds each; and, in 1860, 1,160,000—a gain of pounds each; and, in 1860, 1,160,000—a gain of 445 000 quintals in a single year. In the space of seven years, from 1850 to 1857, the production of cotton in Africa and minor places increased 300 per cent.; in the East Indies, 111 per c nt.; in the West Indies, 600 per cent.; in Egypt, 31; and in America, 34½ per cent. China has now been open if to trade by the arms of France and Eugland; and the supply from that quarter will soon be very large. The two nations will also have all the Coolie labor they can employ: families of them are to be taken to the color; families of them are to be taken to the color; families of them are to be taken to the color; families of them are to be taken to the color. ploy; families of them are to be taken to the cot pioy; ramines of them are to be taken to the cot-ton-growing regions; and however much we may condemn this—it will make no difference with them—the work will go ra. idly on. In Lan-ca hire, England, a large meeting was held lately to consider the necessities of the manufacturers, and devise means to make up the deficiency which they expected would be produced by our domestic toubles. They resolved to raise five mil one of dollars at once to employ agents, and stimulate the growth of cotton in all possible ways in every dependency of the British empire. Lanc shire alone is possessed of more capital toan all the banks and manufactories in the than all the banks and manufactories in the United States; and the energy and enterprise of her business men will soon set them free from all dependence on "King Cotton," so far as the Souther States are concerned.

The result of these troubles in our own coun-

try, and the action consequent upon them is ope, will be a vastly increased production of nurope, will be a vastly increased production of cotton in other portions of the world, and a con-sequent reduction in the price, which will affect the value of every slave in the South. Slave labor will be less profitable, and those who have aided most in causing this political convulsion in our country may live to propose its gradua abolition, and call upon the National Govern-ment to aid them in so great an undertaking Sir, I put these prophesies on record, and trust I shall live to witness their fulfillment Their truth seems to me self-evident, and I be lieve the same ideas will occur to other mind at the South, and that time only is needed to convince them of the folly of secession, since the result of it will assuredly be the abolition of slavery at a period not far distant. While I en-tertain these views on the subject of slavery, I see nothing in them or in the policy of the Re-publ can party to justify this rebellion at the Nouth. We are accused of convertibing all who South. We are accused of proscribing all who own slaves, but this is an invention of the enemy. So far as slavery is concerned, our policy is identical with that of Henry Clay, and a host of others who have been leading statesmen at the South. We never proposed to exclude any man from office or from the honors of the Government because he was a slaveholder, but we will ment because he was a slaveholder, but we will not consent that the powers of the National Government shall be wielded for the benefit of slavery, or any other State institution or interest in the country, North or South. We believe it is impolitic and wrong to extend slavery beyond its present boundaries, and such was the opinion of a majority of Southern statesmen but a short time ago. Mr. Clay said: "No earthly power could induce me to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of slavery where it had not before existed;" and many eminent Southern men have made similar dec arations. While we have no desire to encreach on slavery, and propose to obey all the provisions of the Constitution in itfavor. Southern statesmen demand f r it sti greater p ivileges and stronger guaranties. They ask us to amend the Constitution so as to recog-nise property in slaves, and as the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, the effect of this would be to make slavery a national institution and command for it the protection of the Na-tional Government in the States and Territories, on the lakes and the ocean, and wherever the fing of the Union floats. No comment on such a demand is necessary; the people of the United States will never consent to it, and slavery must be contented to remain a State institution thing more. Professing a desire for an amicable settlement of the difficulties in which they have involved us, they next introduce, through Mr CRITTENDEN, certain propositions for that purpose, which they wish incorporated into the Constitution. Mr. CRITTENDEN has probably been chosen to present them, because the respect en-tertained for him by the people of the Northern States would secure a more favorable considera-

States would seed so a more laworate considera-tion of them than they would receive were they to come from any other Southern man.

The principal article in them povides that the Missouri compromise line of 36° 30' shall be run across the continent, dividing the territory of the nation between the two sections, thereby—as the becomplie Sensitor prophesize—intiting an end to honorable Senator prophesies-putting an end to all stri e. But a compromise implies concessions on both sides; and what do the South yield to us in consideration of a compliance with their demants? A shadow for a substance—an im aginary title to the mountains in the moon for the promised possession of the provinces of Mex-ico! Sir, they claim that the Ded Scott decision carries slavery into all the Territories; but if we will a ree to establish and protect slavery in all the territory south of 36° 30'—that we now

have, or may hereafter acquire—they generously propose to make all north of it forever tree. Mr. Speaker, they m ght as well p om clude slave y from Canada, so far as the North are concerned; for neither the Dred Scott deci-ion, nor any other power, can ever establish it there. Those Territories are free now; and there is sufficien guaranty for their freedom forever in ion" of the Northern mind. equivalent, then, do they off r for the almost omnipotent power which they desire us to confer on their favorite institution? No e at all! not ever peace, which we all desire so much; for, i/ proposition were adopted, it would prepare the for more serious troubles than th mence an agitation for the conquest of Mexico and Central America; and the persistent and united efforts of her statesmen, encouraged by their continual victories over Northern senti-

they are ready to dissolve the Union, destroy be Government, and involve the country in a civil war, because we will not consent to seize Mexico for the benefit of elavery!

The committee o' thirty-three propo e to settle the question, so ter as our present territory is concerned, by providing at once for the dmis-sion of New Mexico as a State into the Union. Mr. Speaker, I know these gentlemen are actuated by patriotic motives; and I doubt not they feel convinced of the wisdom of their course; but I cannot give my vote in favor of this measure. I object to it for many reasons; but I will only mention one of them, since that is all sufficient—it mention one of them, since that is all sufficient—it does not promise to satisfy anybody. No concession we can make will satisfy the extreme South; while the border States, if they consent to remain in the Union on these terms, affix a condition that no attempt shall be made to retake our forts, collect the revenue, or enforce the laws of the United States. Wast benefit, then, will result to us from an adoption of this and other measures recommended by the committee in their

out, I see no reason to hope for any, and therefore I shall oppose them all. I lament the difficulties by which we are surrounded as much as any one; but I do not believe this is the way to settle them, or that patching up a peace be-tween political parties in a manner unknown to the Constitution and the laws is likely to increase the respect of the people for the Govern-ment, or strengthen their belief in its ability to secure them in the enjoyment of their rights. secure them in the enjoyment of their rights.
This Government is necessarily established on the principle that the majority shall rule, and decide all questions in a manner prescribed by law; and if these decisions of the people, when levally expressed, are not r cannot be enforced, then is our Government a failure, and Repub-lican institutions an imposs bility. Sir, if we wish for peace, we must enforce the laws, and, in

my opinion, there is no other way to secure it.

Mr. Speaker, some prominent politicians, or
purposes of their own, implore us to break up our organization and discard our principles, as f they were a garment to be thrown off at leasure; and, as circumstances have changed leasure; and, as circunstances have changed since our election, they be go us to change also, that we may "save our country," and they assure us that we shall be rewarded by the plaudits of a grateful people, and the welcome on our return to our constituents of "Well lone, good and faithful servant!" Sir, these men remind me of a story of Ethan Allen, who, when a prisoner in England, and offered a vice-cyalty in the Colonies if he would "compromise" with the Crown, and betray the people and their cauce, replied that he was reminded of the temptation of our Saviour by the davil, who offered him all the kingdoms of the world if he would fail down and worship him, while at the same time, said "Old Ethan," the devil did'nt own a foot of all the land he was so ready to give away. So with these imitators of his sable majesty, who would have us abandon our principles, and promise us the favor and apsable majesty, who would have us abandon our principles, and promise us the favor and approval of the people—a reward which it is not in their power to bestow. Sir, I believe in the final perseverance of the saints, and that those only are rewarded who hold out faithful to the end in the political as well as the Christian Church, and when a man asks me to "serve my country" by be raying my constituents, I feel like crying, "Got thee behind me, Satan!"

Mr. Speaker, I know the people that I came to represent in the councils of the nation. I have been at their homes, and sat by their firesides, and enjoyed their hospitality, and I promised them toat I would stand by their principles to the lat, and, God helping me, I neven

eles to the last, and, God helping me, I NEVER

WILL BETEAY MY TRUST!

I will agree to a National Convention, called according to the provisions of the Constitution, and let those in whom the sovereignty of the nation resides elect their delegates, and instruct them how to settle these matters about which we differ; and when it is decided in that way, as one can complain, for every lover of constirational liberty will bow to the majesty of the neople. But I was not sent here to amend the Constitution, or to surrender for my constituents their principles and their rights, and I never

ill consent to do either. Mr. Speaker, this compromise fever is not a new disease with which we are afflicted, but a political plague that breaks out about once in ten years, and usually follows a defeat of the Democratic party. The Democracy were defeat-ed in November last, and from that day to this the whole land has rung with a cry for compro-mises. We have had a compromise committee at work here all winter, and compromise committees from New York, Boston, and Philadel-phia, and now we have a grand Compromise Convention assembled at one or our botels. Sir, we never had a Congressional compromise that was not a curse to the country. The Missouri compromise "savet the Union" in 1820, to bring it to the verge of rain in 1861. The compromise of 1833 has proved the fruitful parent of

Sir, I am second to none in my admiration of the great Statesman of Kentucky. I was taught o love him in my childhood, and I learned to venerate him in my maturer years. Full of years and honers he passed from our midst, but we see his shining pathway yet. His attach-ment to the Union, like the faith of a Christian, was a part of his being. His love of liberty was sub ime, and the history of his great deeds the on'y monument he needs to keep his memory green forever. But his compromise of the difficulties between South Carolina and the United States I have ever considered the most unfortuallowed to suppress that rebell on in his own way. I do not think South Carolina would ever again have raised a parricidal hand against her counwhat course we should take to save the Union. What good have the compromises of 1850 done? I cannot tell; but the evil effects of them are visible to all. The civil war in Kansas grew out of them, and the excitement which that gave rise to all over the Union has culminated in creation of a Southern Confederacy, and an sttempt to destroy the Government of the United

Mr. Speaker, these are the results of the com-promises of 1850; and do we see anything in them to encourage us to follow this policy any longer? In my judgment, this Government cannot survive ano her compromise. It would de-stroy this work of the wisest body of men that ever lived, and so debauch the people as to ren-der them incapable of self-government.

ments and opinions, would final y prevail; and I will do anything I can, without dishonor, nothing but the force of natural laws or the to help the gallant men in the border States,

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who are struggling with such beroism against the insanity of the moment. Let us agree to refer this question to the people in general con-vention assembled, and abide by their decision. reter this question to the people in general convention assembled, and abide by their decision. There is no ill-feeling at the North toward Southern men. We dislike slaver, and we hate it more at this moment because of the perils in which it has involved us now; but those who love the Union, South as well as North, are our brothers, and we would fight for their rights as freely as for our own. Sir, I believe there is patriotism enough, North and South, to save t e Union. It cannot be that this master-piece of human wi-dom is to perish now. There are good and true men in all sections of the country, and if time be given for reflection their number will increase. I will not believe that Kentucky will desert the fing also has a hundred times defended with the best blood of her sons. She has farnished a here for us in this hour of our extremity, whose one blood of her sons. She has farnished a here for us in this hour of our extremity, whose one manly deed has thriled a nation's heart, and roused the patriotism of a whols people. As Haman had no peace while Mordecal, the Jew, at in the King's gate, so South Carolina, with her half million of a population, cannot rest while the gallant Kentuckian and his score or two of men sit in the gateway of the State in defiance of her power. The stars and the stripes float proudly over him, and well do we know that he would sacrifice his life to save them from dishonor. And Tennessee—we have heard her thunder-shout for the Union, and its echoes yet linger are nd us—will she coasent to leave trom distonor. And Tennessee—we have heard ber thunder-shout for the Union, and its echoes yet linger are nd us—will she consent to leave ner sister St. tes? I cannot believe it. I cannot believe she would be so forgetful of the warnings of the immortal Jackson, who foresaw this treasonable attempt to dissolve the Union, and denounced it ere he died. There, too, is Missouri, with territory and material weath enough for an empire; old North Carolina, with her diadem of revolutionary glories; and the Old Dominion, faithful yet to the Constitution, the crowning wonder among the achievements of her sons—can they forget the source of their greatness and glory, and destroy themselves in destroying this great nation, of which they are a p rt? God, in his infinite mercy, forbid that they should be guilty of a crime which would clothe the world in mourning.

Mr. Speaker, this "secession" movement has become formidable in consequence of the treachery of those whom the people placed in power.

ery of those whom the people placed in power. Hereafter, Benedict Arnold can no longer occupy the foreground as the chief traiter in h s coun-James Buchanan to that high eminence of infamy. After being the recipient of bonors from his country for half a century, he ends his career by disgracing her abroad, and leaving her at home almost in rains. The London Times says of his message:
"Never, for many years, can the United States

"Never, for m my years, can the United States be to the word what they have been. If. Buchanan's message has been a greater blow to the American people than all the rants of the Georgian Governor, or the ordinances of the Charleston. Convention. The President has dissipated the idea that the States which elected him constitute on the continue. We had thought the Endantine was one people. We had thought the Federation was of the nature of a nationality—we find it is only

a partnership!"

After alluding to the expected secession of several States, the editor says:

"In a few days more the United States of America—as the world has hitherto known them—will

Mr. Speaker, is this so? Must our national Mr. Speaker, is this so? Must our national epitaph be written now? Will the American people consent to step down from the proud position they have held among the nations of the earth for seventy years, and resign their power, confessing their inability to retain it? News, sir, never? They have read the message with loathing for its author, as he attempts to prove, in defiance of reason and common sense, that a great nation, like these United States, has not—what the lowest creature in the universe of God possesses, always—the right to defend and preserve its own existence?

Mr. Speaker, civil war is an evil of awful magnitude, and I pray God to preserve us from it, if it be possible. I hope it will be avoided, and I believe the new administration will be in ne haste to shed blood, and that all other means will be exhausted first. But this Government must be maintained, and its power vindicated in the preservation of the Union and the enforcement of the laws. Florida and the Mississipp must be ours forever. Their purchase was a national necessity, and we cannot resign them now. This Capital, that bears the name of the Father of his Country, must remain the Capital of the United States. We must collect the

revenue of the country, and recapture the forts, which we builded, and which were taken from

us by treachery and violence. If we fail to do
it, we admit the insbility of men to govern
themselves, and the impossibility of combining
Republican freedom with national strength. Sir, we cannot do this, for under such dam-ning disgrace we could not willingly live. We owe it to the heroes of the Revolution, to the founders of our Government—we owe it to lib-erty, to civilization and bumanity, and to all who are struggling against tyranny throughout the world, to maintain this Government, and preserve the Union to the lost, let the consequences to ourselves the Union to the lost, let the consequences to ourselves the what they may. Sir, if we tail in this grand experiment of self-g vernment, when can any people hope to succeed hereafter? Could we go to the battle-fields of the R-volution and call up their dead and buried heroes, and hear again the story of their hardships in "the days that tried men's souls." and of the beroism and deeds of daring by which they won for themselves and their country a name, as they hoped, that should never die, could we stand in their presence and calculate the value of the Union for which they paid so great a price? Call the roll of the princes of the people who led our fathers in the struggle for freedom—Abour fathers in the struggle for freedom—AD-AMS, HANCOCK, WARREN, PUTNAM, GREEN, GATES, JEFFERSON, and MADISON, sages in coun-cil and heroes everywhere; PATHICK HENRY, whose voice rang through the land like the trump of the Judgment Angel, denouncing the minions of the third George, and rousing a whole people to a struggle for their rights; and last and greatest of all, the majestic figure of the FATHER OF HIS CONNEY, who belows not to Virginia. or HIS COUNTRY, who belongs not to Virginia, not to America, but to the whole hunan family—the model man for all ages and for all time. As they pass in solemn review before us, and we uber how their lives illuminated the hiscountry glorious—where shall we hide our heads
—where shall we hird in, and made their own
country glorious—where shall we hide our heads
—where shall we bury our shame, if we suffer
the destruction of this monument of their wisdom and statesmanship—the Government under
which we live, and to which we are indebted for

all the blessings we er joy? Mr Speaker, let us rather—as we remember our noble ancestors, and feel that the spirits of this coaste lation of heroes and sages are hovering are raid as or and us to witness our action in this crisis of our history—resolve to emulate their unselfish devotion to their country, and their desire to advance in greaters and desire to advance its greatness and glory, and